

The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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THE CHICAGO WOMEN'S SMALL
PRIMARY VOTE

CIVIL WAR IN SUFFRAGE RANKS

ANTI-SUFFRAGE DEMOCRACY

A SUFFRAGE PLATFORM

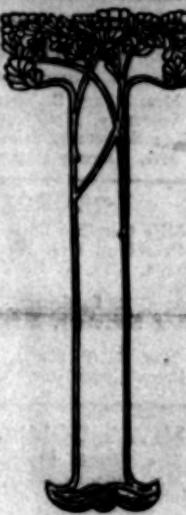
ANTI-SUFFRAGE RED CROSS
RESPONSE

WOMEN AND THE WAR

FAILURE OF WOMEN TO USE
SCHOOL FRANCHISE

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ACTIVITIES

OCTOBER
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THE CHICAGO WOMEN'S SMALL PRIMARY VOTE

(That good men cannot be elected unless good men are nominated is obvious. Consequently, indifference at the primaries is an evidence of poor citizenship. Nominating the right kind of candidates is as important as, and must precede, electing good candidates.—Elihu Root's Note.)

(FROM "THE CITIZEN'S PART IN GOVERNMENT," BY ELIHU ROOT.)

"THE experiment of popular government cannot be successful unless the citizens of a country generally take part in the government. There is no man free from the responsibility. * * * The selfish men who have special interests to subserve are going to take part; the bitter and malevolent and prejudiced men whose hearts are filled with hatred are going to take part; the corrupt men who want to make something out of government are going to take part; the demagogues who wish to attain place and power through pandering to the prejudices of their fellows are going to take part. The forces of unselfishness, of self-control, of justice, of public spirit, public honesty, love of country are set over against them; and these forces need every possible contribution of personality and power among men, or they will go down in the irrepressible conflict. * * * No one of us can fail to do his share without forfeiting something of his title to self-respect. * * * * *

"Merely voting, however, is a very small part of the political activity necessary to popular government. An election is only the final step of a long process by which the character of government is determined. The election records the result of the process; the real work of government is in the process.

"Under our present political system in the United States and at our present stage of political development, that process is mainly carried on through the organizations known as political parties.

"Manifestly, there must be organization; there must be some means by which the vast number of questions which arise in relation to government in our complicated modern life shall be simplified; by which the questions that are vital shall be separated from the comparatively unimportant questions and the people who tend to think alike upon the vital questions may have an opportunity to make their votes effective by voting alike; by which, from the vast number of men who are available for selection to administer the powers of government, some may be indicated as the probable choice of a sufficient number of voters to give some chance of success in voting for them." * * * * *

"Political parties are the natural product of evolution in the process of popular government; they are not merely the best and most practical way in which the operations of popular government can be carried on, but they furnish the only way to carry on those operations so far as we can judge from the experience of the world up to this time."

(News Item in *Chicago Tribune*, September 10, 1914).

VOTE OF WOMEN DROPS TO 8,000—CHIEFS STARTLED

ONE-TWENTIETH OF SHOWING MADE AT CITY ELECTION LAST SPRING

SHUN PARTISAN STAND?

The vote of women played almost no part in yesterday's election. The small vote cast by them surprised men and women political observers alike.

In many precincts only one woman voted. In numerous others an extremely few women were out. The estimate of the City News Bureau from the earlier returns placed the total woman's vote in Cook county at not more than 8,000. This is one-twentieth as much as the vote of the women at the city election last spring when they cast a vote of 164,026. * * *

The City News Bureau's estimate of the women's vote is about one-twenty-seventh of the registration of women. * * *

Mrs. Keough said, "There is another evil being practiced by election commissioners that ought to be stopped. If our names have been erased, we may go to the offices of the election commissioners with our attorneys and protest. If we have that 'come hither' look in our eyes, or the commissioners like our complexions, they will give us a letter to the judges, saying that we may vote. The letter directs them not to put our names back on the voting lists, but to make a record that the letter was our authority for voting. Any amount of evil may arise from such a system."

(*Chicago Tribune*, Editorial).

THE WOMEN WHO DIDN'T

The fact that only about eight or ten per cent. of the registered women voters attended the primaries in this city appears to have surprised the politicians. But it has not surprised the leading and active women of the city. To them the expected happened in this case.

There are too many rather than too few explanations of the failure of the great majority of the women to vote on Wednesday.

(Suffrage Comment in *Chicago Tribune*).

WOMEN FREE OF PARTY ALLIANCE, SUFFRAGISTS SAY

SHOWED THOUGHT IN AVOIDING PRIMARY; READY FOR FALL CAMPAIGN

SUMMER WORK URGED

* * * "It's wonderfully encouraging," said Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout with enthusiasm, referring to the light woman vote.

"It shows clearly the seriousness with which women take their new responsibility.

"We have talked nonpartisanship to women and the thought of freedom in their use of the ballot so possessed them they refused to ally themselves with any party. Even I had that feeling yesterday when I voted, but I thought it was necessary for me to vote in order to help get the best candidates in my district.

SMALL VOTE SHOWS THOUGHT

"The small vote indicates thought on the part of the women. That's the whole secret of it. If we had had a nonpartisan ballot there would have been more women at the primaries. Then we must educate them to realize that going to the primaries in September and voting does not prevent them from voting independently in November." * * *

"After being away all summer," said Miss Margaret Dobyne, "many women return thoroughly out of touch with the political situation and there isn't time in a few days to inform them. We shouldn't let them go to sleep during the summer. The small woman's vote, of course, goes to show that women desire to remain nonpartisan."

(Editorial in *Chicago Daily News*)

Leaders among the newly enfranchised sex, while expressing surprise that no more of their sisters went to the polls, declare that many thousands held back in order not to involve themselves in partisan politics.

However, every citizen ought to assist at the primaries in nominating good party candidates. It is there that the first and most effective step can be taken to defeat unworthy seekers of public office.

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

The Woman's Protest AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

FUNDS NEEDED

A MONTH ago we omitted an urgent appeal for funds to carry on the work of the Association in order not to interfere with the collection for the Red Cross fund.

We would have preferred to issue no call for money to carry on the work of the Anti-Suffrage cause, but the Suffragists are collecting a \$50,000 fund to be used in the vital campaign in the Western States.

In seven of these States the voters will pass upon the question of woman suffrage at the ballot box next month.

This is a condition which must be faced. To continue our work of informing the voters, through printed matter and meetings, we must have \$2,000.

Having no regular sources of income, we make this appeal to our subscribers.

CONSERVATIVES AND RADICALS

WHO are the "conservative" Suffragists, and who are the "radical" Suffragists? In what way can a Suffragist ever be considered as conservative?

These are two of the questions which the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage would like to have answered.

On the one hand, we see the Congressional Union, headed by Miss Alice Paul, declaring indiscriminate war against all Democrats because a Democratic Congress has refused to amend the Constitution. On the other hand, we see Dr. Anna Shaw, President of the National American Suffrage Association, repudiating all connection with the Congressional Union, and even going so far as to announce that the Union is not a member of her National Association. In Colorado some of the Suffragists refused to take sides against Democratic Senator Thomas in his fight for the Senate. From Kansas Miss Cora G. Lewis, a member of the Kansas Board of Administration, wired Dr. Shaw recently asking whether two representatives of the Congressional Union working in Kansas had the endorsement of the National American Suffrage Association. Dr. Shaw's reply was an emphatic negative.

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout's remark about the suffrage trust, quoted elsewhere in this issue, and her statement that "we need the conservation of the past and the enthusiasm of the present to bring the suffrage question to a successful issue," are interesting, to say the least. Who are the conservatives in the suffrage ranks? Are they the followers of Dr. Shaw, who has recently blacklisted eighteen members of Congress? Are they the followers of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, leader in the Congressional Union? Or of Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal*? Are they represented by Mrs. Boissevain, one of the foremost of the "younger Suffragists"? And who are the radicals?

It would save the public a great deal of bewilderment if it could be told by the Suffragists which of them are radical and which of them are conservative. It might also clear the situation if the Suffragists of the United States could explain just where they stand in politics.

The truth of the matter seems to be that the country is confronted with the spectacle of several bands or groups of women quarreling among themselves, unable to determine whom they shall oppose or what they shall advocate, making speeches that contradict each other, and altogether creating a confusion which is sure to fail in accomplishing any definite results for "votes for women."

THE PRIMARY IN ILLINOIS

(From the *Ithaca Journal*, Sept. 16)

ONE of the most distinct disappointments which the advocates of universal suffrage have suffered since the movement to give women the ballot became general was the absolute and utter lack of interest the women of Illinois showed in the primary which was held in that state last week. It was announced, the day after the primary, that there was an immense falling off in the woman vote, but now comes figures which show that less than ten per cent. went to the polls.

The primary was of great importance to the people of Illinois and a great effort was made to get the woman vote by the civic and independent woman's organizations. The utter indifference with which the women of Illinois regarded the primary is more than strange. When the question was before the people whether the women should be given the ballot the women of the state said they wanted the right to go to the polls and cast ballots. They said they could right wrongs and that they would overthrow two or three ring machines which exist in the state.

Now they say that the reason that they did not go to the polls was that the political situation was not pleasing to them and that the ballot was so long that they did not understand it. If women, and men also, for that matter, are to be excused from going to the polls because the ballots are too long, or the candidates not of the right sort, what is to become of politics and our system of handling it? If the women had voted and shown by their vote that they wanted to make the best of a situation they regarded as bad, they would have been applauded for their exercise of the privilege of their convictions. But to stay away from the polls and leave others perhaps to make bad things worse, is hardly understandable.

Perhaps the reason for the women not voting is found in "just because." It is a fact that they were utterly indifferent. If they had been interested the fact that there was a long ballot and that the candidates on the various tickets did not appeal to them would not have kept them away from the polling booths. Their reason can be found in the same old eternal feminine "just because," and refusal of the Suffragists themselves to go to the polls has afforded the people who are opposed to universal suffrage the best argument they have been given in many a day.

WHAT THE SUFFRAGISTS' CIVIL WAR PORTENDS

By MRS. AUSTIN M. PURVES

Chairman, Woman's Relief Committee, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

MR. GRACE WILBUR TROUT, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, who recently toured nine states as a Chautauqua lecturer, declares that she found a "suffrage trust." But, according to Mrs. Trout, in several of the states, the days of the "trust" are about numbered.

"I found that there is a general breaking up and going to pieces of the Suffrage Trust," said Mrs. Trout. "There seems to be a feeling in the states I visited against it. The bars of suffrage exclusion are being let down, and all are being allowed to come in and work for the cause."

According to the *Chicago Tribune*, a paper which led the advance of woman suffrage in Illinois, "the trust consists of a group of women, pioneers in suffrage work, who control all positions in the suffrage organization, dictate the policies, and outline the work. They have a particular aversion to the newer and radical ideas of the women who weren't born suffragists, but who have grown into them."

Last week, the Belmont suffrage faction, the Congressional Union, declared war on the Democrats. It was a bizarre attempt to frighten seasoned politicians into believing that the women in suffrage states would turn out in force against any party that would not allow the ballot for women to be "slipped through" Congress. The women in suffrage states are not all suffragists, by any means—or the suffrage organizations would have more members. Also, more than four per cent. of the women in a city like Chicago would use the franchise when they got it.

But the hard part of the whole affair for the "militant" faction, is that even their suffragist sisters in suffrage states repudiate and condemn their foolish "ultimatums" and black-lists. Mrs. Medill McCormick, of Chicago, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, telegraphed to the Colorado suffragists a few days ago, warning them that the congressional delegation from Colorado was marked for defeat by the Congressional Union. The telegram was addressed to Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, State Superintendent of Instruction, and said that Mrs. Dora Stevens, a Congressional Union representative, was coming to Denver to open headquarters to "fight the democrats."

"We are relying upon you to watch newspaper stories and correct them," said the message, "so that no misunderstanding will arise as to the difference between our committee and the Union. Write me if we can be of assistance to you in combating the united campaign."

Mrs. Bradford said that Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, told her in a recent letter that she, Dr. Shaw, would herself come out to Colorado and take up the fight against the Congressional Union. Colorado women of all parties, said Mrs. Bradford, Progressives, Republicans and Democrats, say that they are opposed to the campaign of the Congressional Union. Mrs. E. P. Costigan, president of the Woman's Club, and wife of the Progressive candidate for Governor, State Senator Helen Ring Robinson, Mrs. Fred Dick, Progressive candidate for Mrs. Bradford's office, and other Colorado women all declare that they would resist the efforts of the Union to defeat the Democrats.

These pitched battles between the suffrage factions are becoming more important engagements to the franchise enthusiasts as each week rolls by. It is furnishing a constant proof of the old suffrage argument that women can fight just as well as men—when they are trained to it. The mimic political war that has waged back and forth across the plains, heights and valleys of feminism since the formation of the Congressional Union in January, has brought thrills to the suffragists and

amusement to the "antis." But meanwhile, what does it mean to the women of the country? What is its significance in regard to the relation of American women to our government? Do women wish to be represented in the State by a "suffrage trust" or a "militant union," or are they satisfied to continue to be represented by fathers, sons, husbands and brothers whom they can trust. "Bossism" was to be done away with, "when women get the vote"—and yet here come both factions of suffragists protesting that women are in danger of being dominated by a "suffrage trust" and a "Pankhurst trained militant Union," respectively!

The "younger suffragists" accuse the old timers of running the whole organization as they please, and the "conservatives" assert that the militancy and radicalism of the more youthful element will hurt the "cause."

The fact of the matter is, that the suffragists being amateurs in politics, have fallen into the same hopeless wrangle as to policies and doctrines that has wrecked the new party which has acted as a "votes for women" sponsor. The Progressives, too, were to do away with "bossism," and let the "pepul" come into their own, and yet the history of progressivism seems to demonstrate that its only mission in politics was to act as an asset to one man and his group of satellites. And the "pepul" have not taken kindly to the self appointed bosses, no matter how much "reform" they promise. This is a democracy, and the popular intelligence has much improved since you could "fool part of the people all the time and all of the people part of the time."

Nowadays, it is getting harder and harder for bosses, radicals, and demagogues, whether men or women, to fool any of the people at all. The days of patent nostrums and political panaceas are past. Now no man can rise on a soap box and promise an immediate millennium if his theories of government are tried as could be done in the good old days before all the radical notions were put to the test. And no woman can parade with a "votes for women" banner as the emblem of freedom and opportunity for her sex since the franchise in women's hands has proved such a clumsy and undesirable instrument for progress.

Much has been said of the power of the ballot. It is the official registration of public opinion regarding men and measures, but whether it is the true expression of that public opinion, or merely a manipulation of the machinery of politics, depends on the facilities afforded in the electorate for the growth of graft and bossism. The whole spirit of our democracy and the fruit of our political experience is against allowing certain individuals or groups to get possession of the machinery of elections, and thus to thwart the will of the people. Whether the would-be bosses are out-and-out-corruptionists or merely misguided enthusiasts the effect is bad. A sincere and conscientious dreamer in control of the functions of government may work just as much harm as a corrupt political boss. The only difference is that the theorist is more impractical, and less able to see his own faults.

No one doubts the sincerity or honesty of purpose of certain misguided rulers and politicians and yet public opinion is opposed to their acting as the President of our country. But if such men could get possession of the political machine by which public opinion is reckoned, they would not scruple to regard their own theories as sanctioned by "divine right."

Likewise, Dr. Shaw, and Miss Alice Paul both regard themselves as bearers of new gifts of opportunity and freedom to women, the while they work constantly to manipulate the Congressional and constitutional machinery to carry out their

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

theories in spite of the will of the majority of women. Now women undoubtedly have a right to be represented in government, the main question is, how may they best be represented?

Suffragists contend that women can be represented efficiently, only by means of the ballot. Anti-suffragists answer that women are not only represented, and well represented by men with the ballot, but that as non-partisans in politics, women have a nobler and more powerful influence on the public opinion behind the ballot, than they would with a "piece of paper in a ballot box." To see that this is true, one need only stop to consider: First, how the best men strive to attain non-partisanship in politics; and second, how unwillingly women are themselves to become partisans and politicians. When a newspaper wants to have a powerful influence on the public opinion that is expressed at the polls, it calls itself "independent," and many a political boss would give dozens of votes to possess the real power that is often possessed by one good editorial. Also, when public opinion becomes disgusted with the control of a community by bosses, Civic Leagues and Good Government Committees, with loud protestations of their independence from the "machine" of any party, seek to remedy matters by educational and moral influences, by counseling rather than by extending the electorate.

Now, at the last Chicago primary, the "woman's party," according to the suffragists, tried to exercise just such a non-partisan influence. We wonder why, if, as suffragists contend, the ballot is the only real power. Why, if the franchise is the only effective instrument, were not the women advised to vote for one party or one candidate? They were, in some instances,

but the trouble is that only four per cent. of the women would vote at all, and they were not urged to vote for those candidates who would give the state a better government, but for the politicians who were most favorable to the "woman's party."

In other words, the few women who will go into politics are not there primarily to improve our government, or to benefit women, but to advance themselves. But even in this, they fail, because as a matter of fact, women secure civil appointments and positions of honor in the community much better where they don't have to depend on the franchise. Even the leading suffragists are women who acquired their power and influence in male suffrage states. Why must Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, of Pennsylvania, without a vote, go to the assistance of the Colorado suffragists with ballots, to protect them from another suffragist, also without a vote, of the Congressional Union? How is it possible that a member of a militant band, without a ballot, can go into Colorado and become such a menace to the political power of women who have had the franchise twenty-one years, that they must call on another woman without a ballot to come in and help them counteract the first woman's "indirect influence?" According to suffrage theory, Mrs. Dora Stevens, of the Congressional Union, ought to be absolutely powerless in Colorado, where she has no vote, and yet they are afraid that her "indirect influence" may antagonize the Democratic Party so much that all the votes of women in the nine suffrage states will be unable to repair the damage done to the "cause." And thus woman suffrage organization itself is furnishing an amusing demonstration of the folly of "votes for women."

ANTI-SUFFRAGE TRUE DOCTRINE OF DEMOCRACY

By MISS M. EMMILINE Pitt, Former Secretary, Iron City Central Trades Council, of Pittsburgh; Field Secretary, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

DO Anti-Suffragists believe in a democracy?" a man who said he was a Suffragist asked me at one of the county fairs last week.

Emphatically, yes, Anti-Suffragists believe in a democracy, in a republic, in a representative government, in the rule of the majority—that is one of their chief reasons for opposing Woman Suffrage.

Beyond all the arguments as to natural rights to vote—which apply with just as much force to minors and foreigners as to women who are "governed without their consent"—the primal question to be decided is whether the women themselves want to vote.

If voting were a natural "right," instead of one of the media for the mechanical registration of public opinion, a qualification could no more be drawn at citizenship or residence or maturity than at the exclusion of women. The extension of the franchise is a question of bettering our national, state and municipal government. It is purely an administrative issue, like that of increasing or decreasing a standing army—the agency of public opinion that safeguards the decisions at the polls.

A few individuals, who want all women enfranchised in order to increase their own political opportunities, have no more right to thrust their theories on the whole people than our military officers have a right to demand that all our men become soldiers. If woman suffrage is wanted by the majority of our women and people, it should show that fact. A war scare in Europe has not made the public in the United States demand that military service be forced on all its men, and sixty-five years of war among women has not convinced one-tenth of our people that all women should be forced to vote.

On the contrary, the Suffragists have always vigorously protested against a *vote of the women* on the franchise question.

Why not, if they believe in democracy? If women are competent to vote on all questions, why are they not able to decide whether they wish to be enfranchised or not? A "straw" vote of women on this subject has been proposed by Anti-Suffragists for a number of years. The Suffragists thwart it at every opportunity, because the few tests by newspapers, etc., have proved so overwhelmingly against "votes for women."

Instead, they call it "ridiculous" for a legislator to ask for time to "get more information from the women themselves" when a suffrage amendment is on the way to be "slipped through," as they call it.

The Bristow-Mondell and the Shafrroth-Palmer Constitutional Amendments are both undemocratic attempts by the Suffragists to force the franchise on the whole country in spite of the majority's wishes and judgment.

Seven states will vote on woman suffrage in November. Among the last states to decide on "votes for women" at the polls, Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan killed it by majorities that in each case doubled the total pluralities by which woman suffrage has been "put over" in the five states of California, Washington, Oregon, Arizona and Kansas.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, one of the best informed suffrage writers, said of the state campaign: "The direct cause of the enfranchisement of women in all these five states was the 'insurgent' movement in politics *** its leaders believing they could hold their ground with more certainty if they had the support of women voters. In 1912 and 1913, however, came the tremendous defeats in Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan, and to everyone who holds that women should look to the states for their enfranchisement, is recommended a study of those campaigns."

WHAT THE BLACK-LISTED MEN STAND FOR

THE statement was made a few days ago by Dr. Anna Shaw in her speech in Bismarck, North Dakota, that the men on the suffrage blacklist consistently opposed every humanitarian measure.

The men on the blacklist of U. S. Senators are, Democrats: Clark of Arkansas, Fletcher of Florida, Gore of Oklahoma, Shively of Indiana, Smith of Maryland. Republican: Brandegee of Connecticut, Dillingham of Vermont, Root of New York, and Lodge of Massachusetts. The blacklisted members of the house of representatives are: Calloway of Texas, Fitzgerald of New York, Garner of Texas, Garret of Tennessee, Hay of Virginia, Mann of Illinois, Page of North Carolina, Sisson of Mississippi, Underwood of Alabama.

We cite a few instances of humanitarian and excellent legislation these blacklisted men have supported.

Mann supported white slave act, pure food law, children's bureau bill, bill to water and feed cattle in transit, and now has pending a bill for bureau of labor safety department of labor. The Mann white slave act has done more to suppress this evil and wipe it out than anything else; 350 convictions were secured last year—almost one a day.

Page supported good roads, pure food law, and generous appropriations for Washington hospitals.

Sisson, leader in all legislation for women and children in District of Columbia.

Hay, author of all reforms in military legislation in last four years.

Gore introduced child labor bill in Oklahoma legislature and supported child labor in the U. S. Senate.

Root and Lodge internationally famous for work for arbitration.

Underwood supports all Wilson policies except Panama canal tolls, and voted for children's bureau bill.

Dillingham identified with educational improvements and good roads.

Dr. Shaw cited the phossy jaw bill as especially against the records of the men on the blacklist. In the House, Fitzgerald voted for it; Underwood, Hay, Mann, Galloway, Garner, Garrett, Page and Sisson voted against it. Passed Senate without roll call. No vote recorded, but Lodge was leader for it.

Children's bureau bill passed House April 2, 1912. Underwood and Mann voted for it. Fitzgerald, Page, Galloway, Garner and Sisson voted against it. Garrett and Hay did not vote. Passed Senate Jan. 31, 1912. Brandegee, Clark, Root, Shively and Lodge voted for it. Smith against. Fletcher, Gore and Dillingham did not vote.

Leaders in the House voted against the phossy jaw bill because they opposed the dangerous precedent of government taxing an industry out of business. They pointed out at the time that the same results could be obtained through interstate commerce prohibition. Their opposition was not to the measure, but the manner in which the legislation was framed.

The National American Woman Suffrage association in the *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 30, 1914, announced the blacklisting of these Senators and Congressmen, and also announced that they would send speakers into the districts of these men to defeat them this fall, because of their stand in Washington last winter against a Federal Amendment to the Constitution of the U. S., granting suffrage to women. The *Chicago Tribune's* story has never been denied. To win sympathy and to cast a veneer of decency over their revengeful and intimidating attitude, the Suffragists have been making some sweeping and reckless statements. The crime these men have committed in the eyes of

the Suffragists is their splendid and unequivocal stand for the magnificent principle of state's rights.

If the Suffragists were blacklisting these men on the legislation they cite, why have they waited since March 28, 1912, to begin their attack? Several elections have intervened, and they wait until Aug. 30, 1914, the first election after their defeat last winter in Washington. Plainly this is an attempt to intimidate the men of this country. The English militants use the torch, bombs and acids; the American militant outbreak is expressed plainly in the blacklist.—MRS. O. D. OLIPHANT.

(From the *New York Sun*, Oct. 5, 1914)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts to-day broke his long silence in regard to the attacks made upon him by the Suffragists, by whom he has been "blacklisted" as a man who should be kept out of public affairs, on the ground that he had opposed "humanitarian measures of legislation."

In a letter to a friend in this city he analyzes the situation in detail and goes on to show that he has fathered and supported many, if not all, of the humanitarian measures of recent years.

When Dr. Anna Shaw, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, published the "blacklist" of nine Representatives and nine Senators she explained that her reason for opposing these men was that they had failed to support or had been inimical to the "phossy jaw" bill and other humanitarian and philanthropic measures in Congress.

In answering this argument Senator Lodge says in his letter today.

"Anything more absolutely false than this statement that I have been opposed to humanitarian measures it is difficult to conceive. To begin with the 'phossy jaw' bill, I reported that bill in the Sixty-first Congress and carried it through the Senate. It was near the end of the session, however, and the bill was lost in conference. I reported it again from the Committee in the Sixty-second Congress, passed it after debate, and it became law. It was my bill and I led the fight for it in both Congresses.

"I introduced one of the first two child labor bills—Beveridge introduced the other—which was presented to Congress. It was not acted upon because of opposition on constitutional grounds. All we got was a bill regulating child labor in the District of Columbia and I supported that in debate and voted for it.

"I supported and voted for the LaFollette bill to regulate hours of labor for women in the District.

"I supported and voted for both compensation acts for workmen in the Government service.

"I supported and voted for the workmen's compensation act for railroads.

"I was a member of the immigration commission which recommended a bill for the prevention of white slave traffic among alien immigrants. I helped to frame the bill which the committee reported in pursuance of this recommendation and which became law.

"In the absence of Senator Dillingham I took charge of the Mann bill for the suppression of the white slave traffic in this country and passed it through the Senate without amendment.

"I reported the first bill for the suppression of the opium traffic and was instrumental in securing in the tariff of 1909 the heavy duty on coca leaves.

"I have always supported the children's bureau and have always urged appropriations for it.

"I know of no humanitarian measure of this character which I have not supported."

A SUFFRAGE PLATFORM

BY CAROLINE TICKNOR

(A Reply to Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson Gilman's "Anti" Platform.)

MANY people have asked me what the Suffrage Party stands for, and I wish to say:

It stands, and we stand, because we don't care to sit down any longer. We leave that to the "Antis." When the men get up to give the "Antis" their seats they thank them and sit down, but we say: "Keep your seat, sir! If standing is good enough for you, it is good enough for us. This is an age of equality!"

What we want is "justice," not "chivalry!"

You ask me what we mean by "justice." Well, justice means giving women what they want, and what they want is the ballot!

You say that a large majority don't want it! Well, that's because they are parasites, or ignoramuses, or women of the early Victorian period, and it makes no difference what they want.

The women who want the ballot know what they want; and the women who don't want it, don't know what they want, and the sooner they get what they don't want the better it will be—for them!

You ask "how it will be better for them to get what they don't want?" and I answer—because it is going to educate them. The ballot is going to educate woman. I can't tell you just how, but it is going to do it.

And education is what woman needs; she has been kept *down and out, and under*, ever since the first woman was blamed for trying to cater to the appetite of the first man.

It is time that women stopped wasting their time feeding the men. The day of the domestic drudge is over! If Eve hadn't bothered about Adam's food she'd have been better off, and he'd have gone and made cider out of that apple as soon as her head was turned.

And that's where woman's great strength politically comes in—she's going to vote against all intoxicating liquors; she's going to make this land as dry as the desert of Sahara. That is what she intends to do.

But, of course, she can't do it all at once, and in the meantime we have but the *great cause* to consider, and if any man offers to help that cause it's not for us to throw the first stone at him (save the stones for the opposition).

The man who says "votes for women" is going to get the "votes of women," whether he's signed the pledge or not, and no questions asked. We're not going to lick the liquor interests while they are friendly to us!

When we have educated women by means of the ballot, they'll be able to do just what they please with every man-made organization in this land. All I say is, "give the poor, down-trodden, feminine slaves a chance to rise up to the man-made level."

And don't let us forget that woman's superior education is going to make her a far more valuable voter than man; she has time to study and improve her mind while he spends all his days at gainful occupations, and all his holidays at baseball games; she can attend the women's clubs and the dumb animal associations, where she acquires a broad culture, while he is adding up long rows of figures. Look at the high school graduates, many more girls than boys. Give them the vote, they're better educated to use it!

Now, I want to consider the wage question. It is not for the sheltered woman that I am pleading, but for the wage-earner; she needs the ballot to raise her pay. Let her but have

her chance to register as a political factor and there will be no more underpaid woman-workers. "Equal work and equal pay," is the motto that goes with "votes for women."

Of course, I don't presume to claim that the wage question is settled by voting, undoubtedly that is a matter of business economics; if it were not, the men would not have had to get up "labor unions." The women surely can't expect that the ballot will do more for them than it does for the men. It may not bring the working-woman money, but it will bring her opportunity to do more work.

How many women wish to be tried by a jury of men? Men, who are influenced by a woman's good looks, are prejudiced by just a pretty face! Do you think that a doll-faced minx would get off half as easily if she were sat on by twelve strong-minded women with New England consciences?

Women, I say, should serve on juries, the police force and the fire department. That is, they should if they desire to do it. The women who don't want to enlarge their sphere could stay at home and darn family stockings; no one is going to force them to go out. Half of the men do not go out to vote and there is no more reason that those women should. Let them just have their "rights" and it won't matter in the least whether or not they use them. Our war cry is "votes for women," and not "votes by women."

The "Antis" tell us that with the married couples there is nothing to gain, for "if they are agreed, the result is not altered, and if they disagree they cancel each other's vote." But, I say, "this matter can be arranged harmoniously by any couple as follows: If they agree, *she* need not vote, and if they disagree, *he* need not." This will give each a chance, and will settle everything with absolute equality.

Now, as to "doubling the ignorant vote." That is the great cry of the "Antis."

I insist that those ignorant women are not going to vote; they are too busy in their homes; they have no time to bother with the ballot; we need not fear them in the least; they won't come out to vote!

But, on the other hand, their votes are quite as good as those of "sheltered women," who only read *Town Topics* and the fashion notes. No wonder they are ignorant of crying needs. The mothers in the slums are far more valuable voters, and they will prove it. Indeed, quantities more of them voted at the election in Chicago than did those from the fashionable districts. Rejoice, then, that the mothers of the poor will vote!

And next I want to say a word about the little children; they need the ballot to teach their mothers how to care for them. How shall the women kept in ignorance and not allowed to go down to the polls, except to vote for the school question, learn how to give their babies pure milk and proper care. The women need the vote to help them to clean tenements, clean streets, clean teeth and all the things men do not care about. And if some women do not care about clean things now they will when they have "votes for women."

The women are the children's guardians and their hearts are bound up in the welfare of the little ones.

You ask why it is that only 2 per cent. will take the trouble to vote for the children's schools?

Of course they won't! Do you expect them to register and tell their age and go out to the polls in stormy weather just for a fractional opportunity? Let man grant them the whole,

entire and unadulterated vote for everything, and they will show what they can do; they will just put their shoulders to the wheel and elect every fine man candidate who favors woman's suffrage. And every man who does not, will be defeated and his place will be filled by a capable woman. A school vote is a poor little one-sided ballot, and we women view it with contempt. The schools have got on just as well without 98 per cent. of our votes. And they will have to do so until justice is done.

You ask: "How about justice to the children?" And I reply, we are discussing justice for the women who want "votes for women."

Lastly, on the great war question. If women had the vote there would be no more war. They would rise by the million and go down to the polls and vote "no war," and it would have to stop.

Yes, it would stop right there; women wouldn't tolerate it. For once, the cruel war-loving men would be out-numbered,

abashed and over-ruled. And from that time the whole world would have peace at any price.

And, on the other hand, if war had really been declared, woman would show herself man's equal in strife and turmoil. Oh, yes, women have fighting blood in them, look at the D. A. R. (but don't let's talk about them). Women have always helped to screw men's courage up, have cheered them on to victory, buckled their spurs, and told them to "go forth and to annihilate the enemy, or never to come back alive!"

Look at Boadicea, Joan of Arc, Hypatia, Pocohontas and Mrs. Pankhurst! Not any one afraid of anything, or anybody. Why should a woman keep the laws she has not made? Women are free and equal; they can fight as well as the men, and they will rise and take by force what men withhold by tyranny.

The hand that "rocks the cradle" shall prove to-day a fitter instrument; it shall *cradle the rocks*—rocks to be hurled in righteous indignation upon the windows, works of art and woful prejudices of those opposed to "votes for women."

ANTI-SUFFRAGE RESPONSE TO RED CROSS APPEAL

AMERICAN RED CROSS
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
1624 H Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

September 17, 1914.

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,
37 West 39th Street,
New York City.

DEAR MRS. DODGE:

The American Red Cross greatly appreciates the very kind and generous assistance being given to its war relief work by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

There is a terrible need for this aid in Europe and every penny helps the work of relief. The sufferings of those dear to thousands of our fellow women in Europe and their agonies and sorrows must appeal to our own hearts. It may lie within our power to give back to many of the women of Europe those whom they love, through the ministrations of the American Red Cross.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) MABEL T. BOARDMAN.

SINCE the 1st of September Massachusetts Anti-Suffragists have been engaged in Red Cross work almost to the exclusion of everything else. On that date, being then the first and only organization in Boston engaged in this work, the Public Interest League headquarters, at 685 Boylston Street, was officially designated as the State center of the Red Cross by Miss Louisa P. Loring, Massachusetts' agent. An appeal was at once made through the press and nearly one hundred towns have already responded with contributions of money and work, and requests for patterns and instructions for making garments. Volunteer workers, numbering from ten to twenty-five and thirty are on duty daily at headquarters, and already an enormous number of garments have been completed. Wareham Branch held a lawn party and sold refreshments; the proceeds of which went to the fund. Dover Branch has contributed \$50 and Framingham Branch over \$100 to the general fund, while money contributions from the League have reached something like \$300. All this in addition to the amount expended for material, express, etc.

At all meetings held during the month of September appeals have been made for workers and funds to help on the work, and in every case the response has been most gratifying.

The Madison, Wis., Association has collected and sent to the local Red Cross one hundred dollars, given to its members "without reference to politics." Hospital garments and bandages are being made and sent to local Red Cross headquarters, also a quantity of clothing to be sent to refugees for use during the coming cold weather when the suffering among these victims of the war will be intense.

Nebraska has no local Red Cross headquarters, so their contribution of \$3,855.83 was forwarded to Mrs. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and sent by her to Washington to the National headquarters of the Red Cross. The amount was made up of collections ranging from 5 cents to \$100.00. Boxes have been placed about the city for further collections, each bearing the inscription: "The National Red Cross asks all citizens for help for Relief Funds. Drop your mite in this box, please." The appeal further bears the name of Mrs. Charles F. McGrew, Treasurer, who receives and forwards the contributions.

New York State Anti-Suffragists have contributed money to the amount of \$235.00, already forwarded to the Treasurer of the State Red Cross, and the various auxiliaries are planning ways and means for gathering funds in small amounts.

The Pennsylvania Association has forwarded \$514.65 to the local headquarters of the Red Cross in Pennsylvania.

Two boys, twelve and thirteen years old, sons of Austin M. Purves, of Philadelphia, have collected \$150.00 for the Red Cross in the name of the Women's Relief Committee of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. The boys have read the war news carefully and have decided to do all they can "to help the soldiers, the mothers and the boys in Europe." They hope to raise \$500.00 to add to the Red Cross fund of their State.

A contribution of \$10.00 has been forwarded from the District of Columbia Association.

The Guilford Branch of the Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage had a booth at the fair decorated with hundreds of pink paper roses, which were in such demand that every one was sold and many more could have been disposed of. The Anti-Suffrage carriage, trimmed in the Association colors, black, white and rose, was awarded first prize in the competition. \$100.00 was realized for the Red Cross.

The Elizabeth Branch of the New Jersey Association has sent in \$53.00, and all the branches are busy making garments and collecting money.

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

Suffrage Truce in England Unites Women

A LETTER just received from Miss Gladys S. Potts, England, a member of the Executive Committee of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and Honorary Secretary of the North Berks Branch of League, and National Member of the Berks County Council Committee of the Relief Fund Administration, of which Earl Curzon is president, says:

"Political divisions vanish before a national emergency. With the first note of war every true citizen of Empire lays aside party differences and turns to co-operate for the safety of king and country with those whose political views diverge from his own. And so for the time there are no longer Anti-Suffragists, but Imperial citizens. Our Executive Committee's decision to suspend political propaganda appeared in *The Times* of August 15th, under the apt heading, 'Patriotism before Politics,' a motto which members of the N. L. O. W. S. are proud to have earned. The Branch with which I am connected has proved itself to be composed of men and women with whom the nation's need is paramount. Before the decision of the League, as a body, was made known, almost every one of our eight hundred members was actively engaged in patriotic work of one kind or another. From our President, to whose generosity and energy is chiefly due the inauguration and fitting up of a Red Cross Hospital in Wantage, to the most humble of our many village working-class adherents, who are busily engaged with the preparation of clothes and comforts for our soldiers and sailors, each and all are giving glad service according to their several capacities. To Lord Wantage was largely due the organization of the British Red Cross Society years ago, and it was in the Wantage 'Victoria Cross' Gallery, which has more than once been the scene of anti-suffrage debates, named after the heroes whose deeds of valor won for them that much-prized recognition of courage and self-sacrifice, decorated with a series of pictures (given by Lord Wantage in 1900) representing particular acts of Victoria Cross winners, that the meeting was held at which it was decided to equip a local Red Cross Hospital. The local Branch of the Red Cross numbers amongst its most energetic supporters vice-presidents and members of our Anti-Suffrage League, as does also a neighboring Branch in and near Didcot. At the last-mentioned village we had arranged to hold a public meeting on August 28th, but with the

outbreak of war the arrangements were canceled, and Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists work hand in hand for the common national weal. In each town and village is to be found the same condition. Women of all political creeds and views are united in one aim, the support of their country in danger. To men belong the duty and privilege of actual warfare; to women the auxiliary duties of nursing the smitten, and attention to details of relief and home-work. Local Relief Committees number upon their boards anti-suffrage presidents, vice-presidents and members. We join and work, not as Anti-Suffragists, but as citizens; we are chosen not because we are Anti-Suffragists, but because those around us believe we can serve the public good in such capacities. And we labor side by side with Suffragists, who are chosen not as Suffragists, but as members of the body politic."

The Repudiation of Personal Honor

SYLVIA PANKHURST, who long since repudiated most of the amiable attributes of the feminine character, is now urging her rabid followers to refuse to pay the honest debt of the tenant to the landlord as one more means of emphasizing the protest against the political disability of women. "No vote, no rent," is to be the new slogan of the Valkyries, if her dis-honorable suggestion is adopted. Not content with burning widows' homes, destroying historical churches, ruining poor shopmen, imperiling lives with bomb or torch, the militants now propose to wrest a living by I. W. W. methods of main force, from the public to whom their mere existence is an intolerable affliction.

The attitude of the public toward these misguided women did not need this last supreme fatuity to convert it to utter detestation. The epitaph of their cause is written when they propose to identify alleged political reform with repudiation of the elementary morality of private obligations.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger*.

Miss Jane Addams offers eloquent testimony that woman's place is in the home in her book, "Twenty Years in Hull House." On page 174 Miss Addams says: "With all of the efforts made by modern society to nurture and educate the young, how stupid it is to permit the mothers of these children to spend themselves in the coarser work of the world. It is curiously inconsistent that with the emphasis which this generation has placed upon the prolongation of infancy, we constantly allow the waste of this most precious material."

They Also Serve Who Only Stand and Wait

(From *London Daily News*)

WHEN the balance of this war comes to be struck it will be found that the women of France have done almost as much as her soldiers to win the ultimate victory. Peasant women all over the country, of every age, from the youngest girls to bowed grandmothers, are working from sunrise to sunset to bring in the harvest. City women are acting as tramway conductors and in scores of other capacities.

A large spinning mill has been taken over entirely by the wives of the men who used to work there, and is running smoothly on full time as if nothing had happened.

The present terrible situation in Europe gives rise to many reflections. We see half of the adults of the nation massed on the frontiers defending the existence of the nations in accord with the unwritten law of human society. Progress is for the time being arrested, work at a standstill—and yet in all communities which are not in the war zone, life flows on much as usual and we might delude ourselves that it might continue indefinitely so to do. But this is an illusion. It goes on much as usual only because we all realize that this is an abnormal condition and bound by its very nature to be temporary. So the feminists argue from a short experiment under particularly favorable conditions that a half of the human race might be spared indefinitely from the work for which they are best fitted without loss to the nation. It is not so. Women in Europe have now the fullest opportunity to prove how one sex can fill the other's place and yet keep its own. All the able-bodied men of seven nations are now withdrawn from civil life. All the able-bodied women of seven nations are free therefore to take over men's work. The old law of "women and children first" prevails, and as is usual in such cases men went to the front and sent the women to places of safety.

Anti-Suffragists, as usual, have fallen into line, and from Galicia to Land's End are doing women's work and making women's sacrifices, not in competition but in full co-operation with their men. None dread and abhor war more than faithful wives and mothers. None are, however, less likely to weaken or betray their sons and husbands when duty calls.

"They also serve who only stand and wait."

—J. T. W.

The Militants claim that the *Suffragette*, the sale of which was debarred in New York, has the largest circulation of any suffrage journal published. Facts speak for themselves.

Women Not Interested in School Vote

(Editorial from the *Reno Gazette*, Sept. 19)

DO you know," shrieks the *Woman's Journal* of Boston, "that not even school suffrage is granted to the women of Nevada?"

Do you know, Dear Madam, that there isn't a State in the Union, or a voter in the Union, that would not gladly see women voting in school elections? But do you know, that is not the kind of politics the feminist politician is interested in?

Do you know, that in the town of Dedham, in your own State, where women have been permitted to vote in school elections for twenty years, the highest vote they have cast was 102, the lowest 26 and the average 65, against an average of 1,637 male votes for the same period, in the same elections?

Do you know, that in Hartford, Conn., where 18,000 women are privileged to vote in school elections, less than one per cent. of them actually vote?

Do you know that in North Dakota, as well as in other States where the records have been examined, these same conditions apply?

Do you know, that in California, where women are permitted to vote in all elections, less than one in ten have been voting, while the highest record for the State is less than one in five?

Do you know, that the masses of women are not in politics and don't want to be, just to gratify a few whose ambitions and tendencies happen to run in that direction?

And do you know, Mrs. *Woman's Journal*, that the women would heartily join in your movement if they believed it would better their condition or elevate society?

Do you know that if the women in politics who have been threatening Presidents, blacklisting Congressmen, conducting long hikes and spectacular parades, had in the thirty-one States where they can vote in school elections, given their energies to school politics, the education and training of the youth would have given a wider and more powerful scope to their influence for good than all the ballots they may ever hope to cast for State and National officers? Do you know this? If not you are not prepared for the general ballot.

"Our physical as well as political science teaches us to look askance at an attempt to produce radical improvements in the social organism by mere changes in the machinery of government."

—PRESIDENT HADLEY.

Women Fail to Vote Teachers' Salaries

(California Correspondence)

MAN'S inhumanity to man" has found expression even in this Woman Suffrage State of California. Strangely enough, it is "woman's inhumanity to woman" which the newly enfranchised voters themselves have demonstrated. I send a clipping from the Los Angeles Times of September 12:

"PASADENA, Sept. 12.—Public school teachers of this city are worried. The special bond election for \$12,000 calculated to pay their June warrants was defeated yesterday by forty-one votes, through the apathy of citizens who wouldn't take the trouble to go to the polls. There is no way of paying the salaries except by a bond issue.

"The vote was 938 for and 530 against. As a two-thirds majority was necessary to carry the bonds, the election was lost by forty-one votes. Little interest was shown in the election.

"Many of the teachers were compelled to forego their usual vacations this year because of the failure of the city to pay the salaries for June, owing to a lack of funds. When the Board of Education called the election it issued a statement showing the especial need of voting the bonds and appealed to the voters to compensate the teachers for their work."

If even a scant 9 per cent. of the women of Pasadena had gone to the polls, the necessary money to pay the school teachers would have been voted. There were (in 1910) 11,950 women in Pasadena over voting age, which is 2,688 more women than men of voting age. The actual fact seems to be that our women are not interested in the essential details of politics.

Anti-Suffrage Worker "Indispensable"

ACABLE has been received from the Rev. Henry Van Dyke, Minister to the Netherlands, by the company in New York by whom Miss Alice Edith Abell, the president of the Wage Earner's Anti-Suffrage League was employed, saying that Miss Abell's services in connection with relief work at the Hague are indispensable, and that therefore she will not return to this country immediately.

Miss Abell was traveling abroad with some friends and was in Berlin at the time war broke out. She worked for a while with Ambassador Gerard, and then moved on to the Hague, where she again offered her services to the relief committee.

And All Accomplished Without Woman's Vote

(From the *New York Evening Sun*)

RICHMOND, VA., Sept. 23.—Virginia votes "dry." State-wide prohibition goes into effect Nov. 1, 1916, according to practically complete returns to-day of yesterday's special election on the liquor question.

The "white ribboners" have a majority of from 32,000 to 35,000.

Richmond, Alexandria and Norfolk were the only large cities voting "wet."

Temperance forces were jubilant today. Plans were started for a day of celebration and thanksgiving in all churches next Monday.

The surprises of the election were "dry" majorities in Petersburg, Newport News, Roanoke, Portsmouth and Lynchburg.

The new temperance law will prohibit the sale of liquor even in clubs and also prohibits the manufacture of spirituous liquors.

Wine, cider and beer may be manufactured, but must be shipped out of the State. The loss of \$700,000 annually in liquor revenues to the State is estimated.

Virginia is the tenth man-suffrage state to vote itself dry—an example which no woman-suffrage state has copied! Kansas, the only state which has both Prohibition and Suffrage, went dry before women got the vote.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., Sept. 16.—With about one-third of the vote cast in Monday's State election counted that on the child labor law today was 22,581 for and 6,400 against, making its enactment practically certain. The law is said by its local advocates to be the first child labor measure to be passed by any State under initiative and referendum enactment.

Some of the members of the Pittsburgh Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage went to the City Councilmen, and as Antis, asked to have drinking fountains placed in various places throughout the city. Twenty in all (forty asked for) were granted. They could not get more, as fountains were too expensive, being \$100.00 each.

As an example of the advantage a woman possesses in being non-partisan, take Miss Julia G. Lathrop's tenure of office; Miss Lathrop is head of the Federal Children's Bureau and retained her position while the male heads of bureaus lost their positions on account of their political affiliations in the change from the Taft to the Wilson administration.

ACTIVITIES OF STATE ASSOCIATIONS

MARYLAND

DURING the week of The Banner Centennial Celebration which was held in Baltimore the association opened an office on Charles Street, where the throngs of strangers passed daily and a great many people stopped in every day and signed their names, took literature and buttons to wear, which were very much in evidence in the crowds. It was most interesting and reassuring to have so many people stop in from the States where the question is to go to the voters this fall and express their opposition and intentions of casting the ballot in that direction. The office and signs in the windows received a great deal of publicity through the newspapers.

One man who called said he was a Socialist and when asked his specific reason for favoring woman suffrage replied, "Because I want my wife and all the women in my family to vote for Socialism," which was a frank confession which few of that party openly make.

On Monday, September 7th, the Suffragists had a place in the industrial parade, when only sixty-four women and one man appeared to represent the "strong demand" for woman suffrage in Maryland, although the various leagues had predicted that "thousands of representative women would be in line." The Maryland Association was invited to take some part in the demonstrations, but our up-town office won more for our side than was gained by the notoriety of the paraders.

Every day seems to bring us news and evidence of the decline of the suffrage movement in Maryland and the strength of the anti-suffrage sentiment.

This association is planning to take action in regard to helping the Red Cross Society in its work to relieve the sufferers of war by getting contributions of money and in making garments which can be used in the hospitals.

MASSACHUSETTS

THE Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association has been presenting its issues at first hand this month throughout the length and breadth of Franklin County and in one Hampshire County town.

During September, meetings were held in Bernardston, Ashfield, and Miller Falls, Northfield, South Deerfield, Charlemont, Rowe, Easthampton, Greenfield, Annisquam, Stirling, Athol and Royalston.

For the purposes of the campaign a brilliant corps of anti-suffrage women have taken the field. Among the speakers

are Mrs. A. H. Parker, Chairman of the County Committee and of the Dover Branch; Mrs. A. T. Leatherbee; Mrs. A. J. George, Field Secretary of the State Association; Mrs. Henry Preston White, Chairman of the Publicity Committee; Mrs. Frank Foxcroft, Chairman of the Cambridge Branch; and Mr. Charles L. Underhill, a former member of the Legislature.

This campaign in the Connecticut Valley was arranged by Miss Dorothy Godfrey who is one of the field organizers. Miss Godfrey is a Bryn Mawr girl, who has lived in California and Arizona and who has done her share of actual home keeping. She was former Social Service Agent in Fitchburg and is a graduate of the Boston Social Service School.

Under the auspices of the Framingham Branch an anti-suffrage booth has been carried on at the Framingham Fair this week. Literature, buttons, and seals have been distributed and much interest has been aroused. Miss A. F. Taylor, assisted by Mrs. A. T. Leatherbee of the State Staff, and members of the Framingham Committee have been on duty during the day and evening.

A huge anti-suffrage sign at the Lynn Base Ball Grounds has attracted much attention.

A new Branch is reported at Hanover, Mass., making a total of 95, with a number more in prospect. Since our last report several hundred new names have been added to our list, showing that our workers have kept up their interest right through vacation days.

MONTANA

THE Executive Committee of the State Association did effective work at the Montana State Fair, where they had an attractive booth, during the week of September 21-26. Thousands of pamphlets and dodgers were distributed and many names added to the membership lists. The Dillon Fair was also attended and much interest aroused. At the State Fair the Anti-Suffrage booth was made particularly attractive by a collection of furs and curios from Alaska, the property of Mrs. John Noyes, who explained the work of the Alaskan Indians to an always interested crowd. Dr. Anna Shaw visited the booth and spoke of her reception there as one of "utmost courtesy."

At the September meeting of the State Association resolutions were passed condemning blacklisting and boycotting of Democratic nominees and Democratic and Republican Congressmen; also calling attention to the inconsistency of Suffragists

in blacklisting Representative Mann of Illinois, author of the Mann Act.

Attention was called to alleged misrepresentation of the laws of the state by the Suffragists in a report that has had wide circulation, that laws of this state permit women to will away unborn children. It was said there is no such law, and eminent jurists consulted say no court would uphold such law.

Headquarters were opened in Helena during fair week, with Mrs. Dickson and Mrs. Theodore Simons in charge, assisted by Helena women.

Banners, buttons and literature were sold and thousands of dodgers given in response to inquiries for information.

A Montana leaflet carries the following: "*The eastern Suffragettes CANNOT get the ballot by fair means in their own States—so they are trying to force at least four Western States to vote for 'equal rights,' with the hope that by a majority they may put through at Washington next winter a Federal constitutional amendment. Why should Montana, where the laws for the protection of women and children are excellent, take the burden of woman suffrage on her shoulders in order to make it easier for the eastern feminists to obtain the ballot?*"

NEVADA

THE following letter was sent to the candidates for office in both Democratic and Republican parties.

"DEAR SIR:

"It has come to the knowledge of the officers of the Nevada Association of Women Opposed to Equal Suffrage that an effort has been made to pledge voters, through party platforms, to the support of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of Nevada extending the right of suffrage to women.

"This organization is not seeking to suggest the platform pledges of any political party, and we are quite certain that no party can honorably pledge its voters on this subject by any declaration in its party platform; that no party can bind its voters by what it may write into its platform on this issue. We are equally certain that the voters will repudiate any declaration not in harmony with their own convictions, and resent the attempt to bind them. No candidate participating in the formulation of his party platform has been authorized or instructed by the voters who nominated him to bind or pledge them or their party to this cause.

"National parties formulate their politics

in National Conventions and not in State Conventions; neither the Democratic nor the Republican party has pledged itself, or its members, on this subject. Both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions have steadfastly refused to pledge voters or party support, and we respectfully ask that voters be left to their own convictions without forcing the repudiation of party pledges.

"The petition to Congress from the Nevada Equal Franchise Society contained the signatures of approximately 500 women after a strenuous campaign of three years. This was less than one in 34 of the women of Nevada over the age of 21 years. We believe this represents quite accurately the proportion of women in Nevada who are sufficiently desirous of participation in politics to join in the request for such a platform declaration as you have been asked, or will be asked to make.

"We hold to the view that if a majority of the women in Nevada desire the ballot they should have it, but we insist that the masses of the women of the State should not be forced into politics because of the activities of a few."

The woman suffrage plank was not inserted in the platform of either party.

Speaking of the result, the Reno (Nev.) *Gazette* says editorially:

"Effort was made in both the Democratic and Republican State Conventions at Carson this week to secure platform endorsement of the Suffrage cause, in spite of the fact that both parties had in their National conventions steadfastly refused to pledge party support or to bind any voter to either support or oppose the issue. There was not a delegate at Carson who was authorized or empowered by the voters who sent him there to speak for them, or any of them, on this question. And yet those delegates, not exceeding fifty in number, were urged to arrogate to themselves the right to speak for the 20,000 voters from whom they held their commission of trust. To their credit be it said that, regardless of their personal views, they refused to betray their trust by speaking for those who had not authorized them to speak."

NEW YORK

THE New York Association had a very attractive booth at the State Fair, Syracuse, from August 31st to September 5th. One noteworthy feature in contrast to the work of last year was that many more men came ready to enroll as being opposed to woman suffrage. Many university students lingered to discuss the question with those in charge of the booth and carried away literature to assist them in their debates. On Thursday afternoon Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin gave a most convincing address to a good-sized audience in the Woman's Building, and many after-

ward came to the booth to enroll. Mrs. James L. Hamilton of Cazenovia was in charge of the booth and did very effective work. She was ably assisted by members of the Cazenovia, Syracuse and Utica Auxiliaries. The boxes for the collection of Red Cross funds were in charge of Miss Murray Ledyard of Washington, D. C., and the money collected will be added to the sum collected for this purpose by the State Association.

All the workers felt that in spite of the strain much good was accomplished as a result of being on the Fair Grounds during that week.

NORTH DAKOTA

THE Secretary of State, Mr. W. J. Bryan, will soon be unable to say of North Dakota as he said recently, speaking very generally indeed, "The pros seem to have the organization and the enthusiasm," for this state is rapidly being organized by the Anti-Suffragists, headed by Mrs. C. D. Young, wife of Judge Young of Fargo. And during the past month large audiences throughout the state have received with undoubted enthusiasm the anti-suffrage arguments presented by Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, of New Jersey. Mrs. Oliphant's meetings have shown both men and women to be equally and intensely interested in hearing the anti side. In many of the towns and cities Mrs. Oliphant visited, she had been preceded by Dr. Anna Shaw. The result was considerable heckling on the part of violent Suffragists in the audience, who had accepted all of Dr. Shaw's statements without that essential reserve which Anti-Suffragists have learned courteously to accord them.

Anti-Suffrage meetings were held in Grand Forks, Fargo, Hillsboro, Jamestown, Castleton, Carrington, Bismarck, Mandan, Richarton and Dickinson.

OHIO

OHIO is the acknowledged pivotal State in the coming contest against woman suffrage. Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike realize this fact, therefore, every possible effort is being expended by both sides.

The Anti-Suffragists, profiting by experience, have been hard at work for more than a year. Mrs. H. E. Talbott, the State President, has divided the State into three sections with Miss Lucy J. Price of Cleveland as Field Secretary of the northern division; Miss Clara E. Markeson, Field Secretary of the central division, and Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz, Field Secretary of the southern section. Cincinnati and Hamilton County Association, the largest and strongest organization in the State, has a

membership of over 5000 of Cincinnati's most influential women, supplemented by an efficient men's auxiliary and a business woman's Anti-Suffrage league, of which Miss Sara H. West is president.

This association, assisted by its auxiliary and league, has accomplished wonderful results in the past year. Mrs. W. Austin Goodman is the efficient president of the Cincinnati organization. Since Hamilton County is the pivot upon which political issues turn in Ohio, it has been most active in the campaign. The entire county has been circularized by way of an automobile tour; even the most remote places were reached and every voter has been given pamphlets. On this tour arrangements were made for the fall meetings and the assistance of the press was secured in many instances. The sentiment of the country people was most encouraging, being unmistakably anti-suffrage. All 'fairs throughout the State have been attended and thousands of pamphlets and dodgers were distributed from booths at the fairs.

A petition was presented to the Republican and Democratic State Conventions at Columbus. The Suffragists appeared and with personal appeal urged the conventions to support their cause, but to no avail, as neither convention included woman suffrage in its platform.

The Suffragists of Ohio seem to be taking, argumentatively, in quite a different direction from that of the previous campaign. They have abandoned most of their stock arguments for the sole plea of, "We want the ballot because it is our right as American citizens." Their wonderful achievements in the suffrage States are not held up to view as in the last campaign, nor do they attempt to deny that "Votes for Women" have not met with unqualified success in those States.

Notwithstanding the war and its volume of news issued daily, the press of Ohio is giving generous space to our arguments and news. Since September 10th over seventy well-distributed papers have solicited contributions.

Miss Lucy Price has been doing excellent work in the Coit Albers Chautauqua, debating with Mrs. Robert LaFollette and Mrs. Glendower Evans. She has also held meetings at other points in the State and will assist the Cincinnati and Hamilton County Association during October.

Many plans are now being perfected for the closing of the campaign, which promises to exceed in strength and preparedness even the brilliant achievements of 1912, when Ohio gave nearly 90,000 majority against woman suffrage.

In 175 towns and cities the State Association has been carrying on an advertising campaign in the street cars. Under the general supervision of the Men's Advisory Board the campaign has been very successful and has created much comment.

CONSTRUCTIVE ANTI-SUFFRAGE vs. DESTRUCTIVE SUFFRAGE

(From *The New York Evening Sun*, September 10, 1914)

"MILITANT ANTIS"

Explaining How One May Enter Politics Yet Oppose Suffrage

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—
Sir: Referring to your editorial criticism on September 5 of "Militant Antis," will you permit a statement of their case by one of them?

We are accustomed to being twitted by our suffrage sisters with violating our principles in appearing before Congress and on the public rostrum to oppose their heresies and sophistries; we have listened to such flings as, "people who believe so fervently in the home ought to stay there"; and been sneeringly informed that since we disapproved of women's registering their opinions at the polls, we should refrain from expressing any from the platform!

It is not surprising that the superficial insignia of similarity in suffrage and anti-suffrage methods should draw from the thoughtless a charge of inconsistency upon the Antis. But I confess to some disappointment when you join the ranks of these critics.

The Antis are combating woman suffrage because they believe it futile for good, and pregnant with mischief; but they are not fighting, nor seeking to "intimidate," woman Suffragists as individuals. While I am not authorized to speak for Mrs. Dodge, I assume that the purpose of her recent "proclamation" was aimed, not so much at the women, as at the politicians. She wished to assure the "black-listed" Senators and Congressmen that the assaults of the Women's Political Union should not leave them comfortless in the matter of feminine support; that the women who were for them would be equal to, maybe greater, than those who had declared against them; and any one familiar with the temper of politicians knows how very necessary such reassurance was, if the "hold-up" tactics of the Suffragists were to be frustrated.

Again and again we have heard from public men—even those opposed to the idea—that "when all, or a majority of women want the ballot, they will get it"; and quite recently our esteemed Secretary of State gave as one of his reasons for declaring for suffrage, that "the pros seem to have the organization and the enthusiasm." While personally I think such a sentiment does him little credit, it indicates very clearly the line of work for the opposition, if our wishes are to receive any consideration whatever at the hands of the politicians. So even if it be true, in a sense, as you say, that we "are playing the game of our adversaries," it comes with poor

grace from them to taunt us with the fact. They have driven us, in self-defense, to "fight the devil with fire."

I assume further that the "National Association Opposed," in going to the aid of the beleaguered "black list," are not championing the cause of Democrats as against their Republican competitors; and that any Republican "marked for slaughter" by the Suffragists would receive the same prompt and kindly attention from the Antis. So that it is unfair to say the latter "have entered the arena of partisan politics," save as a temporary expedient for securing their non-partisan object. In other words, the Antis are "in politics" at present in order to keep a woman out of politics for the future and the success of their campaign will mean the cessation of political activity by women; whereas the success of the suffrage cause will be "only the beginning of sorrow!" Do you not perceive here a vital difference?

Antis—the most intelligent at least—do not make a fetish of the home as a place; nor of woman in the home, merely because she happens to be there; but they aim to develop, on a higher, nobler place, womanliness and the home as mental and spiritual ideals; so that the woman holding them will carry with her wherever she goes—into public industry, or even into the political arena if need be—the atmosphere of home! Our social programme is constructive, while that of the Suffragists, as we see it, is destructive.—ANNIE RILEY HALE.

**"The Blight That May Come"
With Suffrage**

(From *The New York Herald*, August 8th)

**EQUAL RIGHTS AND A GREAT
WRONG**

It is a new thing for this country to feel a flush of shame because of any action by Southern women. Yet that has come to pass. A New Orleans organization described as the "largest women's club in the South" has rejected a proposal to send a message of condolence to the President of the United States because the woman whose loss he mourns was not a sympathizer with the suffrage movement.

It would be useless to dwell upon the questions of taste, apart from those of humanity, involved in this action. The women who are carefully weighing the question of suffrage as applied to themselves well may pause if the action of the Era Club is to be taken as indicating the blight that may come upon the feminine mind through a struggle for "political equality."

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

WOMEN had access to the alphabet even before the woman suffrage movement started," said a college graduate and member of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association to her fellow members at the last joint committee meeting. "I appreciate," she said, "that the contrary impression is being spread abroad but the facts do not sustain it. The higher education of women in America at least antedated the 'cause'."

Mary Lyons who founded Mount Holyoke in 1824 was studying at Amherst under Professor Eaton to "become qualified for giving experimental instruction in chemistry," and this was forty-five years before the National Suffrage Association was founded.

Oberlin Collegiate Institute was chartered in 1833, some thirty-six years before the dawning of the National Suffrage body. It offered all its facilities to women from the start and over 79 women had received their A.B. degree by 1865.

In 1850, forty-three years before woman suffrage was granted in Utah, the university of that State admitted women as well as men.

The Elmira College for Women was established in 1855.

"I have been informed," said the lady, "that Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, which recently defeated Woman Suffrage at the polls, opened their universities very early to the women. Michigan took action in 1870, Wisconsin in 1874, and Ohio, 1875. The claim that the vote is a necessity for securing of educational rights for women seems rather puerile in view of these facts."

"English suffragists," said a member of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Organization lately returned from abroad, "are being asked rather sharply if all they want the vote for is to uplift humanity, why they do not use the municipal franchise which they now enjoy. The housing and health problems of to-day are being studied at first hand by the Municipal Corporations of England, to which women are eligible. But they show little or no interest in the matter. Violet Markham, one of the best known social workers in England, comments upon the insincerity of this claim:

"Suffragists claim that once they have the vote they will reform and moralize England. But I want to know if they are honest in these professions why they do not make a better use of rights and votes they already possess."

"Think of it; in the length and breadth of the United Kingdom there are only twenty-one women elected on town councils, only three on county councils, and you have no less than 232 boards of guardians without a woman member on them."

NOTES AND COMMENT

It was said by Lady Tullibardine at a recent Anti-Suffrage meeting that the number of subscribers to the funds of the Militant Association ruled by the Pankhurst family is 6,700; whereas there are only 1,800 subscribers in all to Mrs. Fawcett's constitutional society. Militancy is still exceeding popular with suffragists as this evidence shows.

The District of Columbia Anti-Suffragists are sending their Anti-Creed to the members of neighboring legislative bodies as an evidence of good faith towards the male legislators. The cardinal feature of the creed is the statement: "I believe in making every effort to protect the good name of our American men from the attack of the Suffragists, who charge that government by man is a failure and claim that the women, with the ballot and in the legislature, would bring about the millennium."

TO WOMEN

They stay behind to do their work,
The women, far and near;
They do the work they must not shirk,
While at their hearts stands fear;
Stands deadly fear! Their part to rear,
The young have need of them—
For the Great God made them women
He did not make them men!

The children need their constant care,
The aged and the young;
God's service fair beyond compare
What matters if unsung.
The work is there and everywhere
To carry on since when
The Great God made them women
And did not make them men!

Their part they bear, but their eyes see
The bloody battle, plain;
"If it might be, Great God, if he
Be spared to us again!
'Neath bullets rain, if he remain,
We may not go, we ken
For the Great God made us women
He did not make us men."

They go their way and clearly know
The way their pathway lies;
The cord, the bow—the fire, the glow,
The fortunate are wise.
'Tis they arise to tasks they prize
In palace, cot and fen;
For the Great God made them women
That they might make the men!
—Alice Hunt Bartlett.

Sept. 18, 1914.

We wish to correct a typographical error in the September number. On page eleven the statement that Wyoming has had woman suffrage 14 years should read 44 years.

A school principal elevated by the slogan that votes for women would mean the cessation of all wars has been rather rudely shocked by the attitude of the young girls under his charge. "I have talked to them and asked them not to read about the battles in their text books," he said, "but almost invariably they say, 'My, the wars are the most interesting part of the whole book; if we had to omit that it would be such a dry subject.'" The principal, to his great regret, also tells that his girls are more interested by the war news in the papers than anything else. Many of them, when there seemed to be a prospect of war with Mexico, wished they were old enough to go as Red Cross nurses, "because of the excitement it would be," while others "wished that they were boys, so that they could go as soldiers. "When war is abolished from the world it will be the act of humanity and not of a sex," says the Pittsburgh *Chronicle*, commenting on this. "The girl behind the man behind the gun"—all have read of her.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper calls attention to the fact that with Bohemia, China, Galicia, Iceland and Roumania all well organized for suffrage work, and Java, Sumatra, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands all very much interested, "so far as is known it is only in the United States and Great Britain that associations of women have been formed to oppose it." It is not, however, evidence of individual capacity for thinking among the women of the countries which Mrs. Harper mentions that they all think as one. The Anglo-Saxon woman has had her freedom long enough to profit by it intellectually and morally. Though Mrs. Pankhurst and others (called politely "Headquarters" in this country) may justly represent a certain proportion of women, it has been from the first a persistent illusion on the part of suffrage leaders that they stood, or could stand, or ever did stand for the majority of female opinion. The women of China and Galicia and Iceland and the Philippines may be, even as Mrs. Harper says, all of one way of thinking, but if they were to begin to think for themselves in the intellectual freedom that Anglo-Saxon women have long enjoyed, a divergence would inevitably appear. We are not aiming at the conditions of mental

development observed in China or the Philippines even for the sake of a vote. Has Mrs. Harper reflected on the possible consequences of introducing into a free electorate a wedge of solid and undivided ignorance such as she describes? Half the population with only one point of view on a question so complex and fraught with serious possibilities as woman suffrage argues indeed a condition of political irresponsibility dangerous in itself. The persons who are often readiest to assume responsibility are those who do not know what responsibility implies, but suffrage has indeed led Mrs. Harper into devious mazes of thought when she can suggest that the American woman of the twentieth century should take lessons in freedom from the Oriental. "Whither are we drifting?"

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Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1914.

FRANK EDGAR,

Notary Public, No. 960
New York County.

Register's Office, No. 5024.

[SEAL]

(My commission expires March 30, 1915.)

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED
TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

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PAMPHLETS

NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Noted Neurologist Pours Hot Shot, etc.	<i>Dr. Wm. Hirsch</i>
Should We Ask for the Suffrage?	<i>Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer</i>
Woman's Relation to Government	<i>Mrs. Wm. F. Scott</i>
New Zealand and Australia, etc.	
How Women Can Best Serve the State	<i>Mrs. Barclay Hasard</i>
The Blank Cartridge Ballot	<i>Rossiter Johnson</i>
Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage	<i>Hon. Harold J. Hinman</i>
Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894)	<i>Hon. Elihu Root</i>
Taxation and Suffrage	<i>Frederick Dwight</i>
Woman's Progress vs. Woman Suffrage	<i>Helen Kendrick Johnson</i>
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First Legislative Address	<i>Mrs. Francis M. Scott</i>
Woman Suffrage	<i>Carl Schurz</i>
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy, etc.	
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law	
Dodgers	

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The Militant and the Child	<i>Mrs. F. M. Scott</i>
Woman's Rights vs. Woman Suffrage	<i>Mrs. A. J. George</i>
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